

Acadian Emigration to Ile Royale After the Conquest of Acadia

by Bernard POTHIER *

The phase of the struggle for empire in America which ended with the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 left France weakened and substantially transformed the geographic setting of her North Atlantic colonies. Despite the enfeebled state of the realm, however, her experience and resources allowed France to react vigorously. During the winter of 1712-13, in anticipation of the terms of the Peace, Louis XIV's government took steps to minimize the effects of its losses.

In the North Atlantic, where France had been compelled to cede both Newfoundland and Acadia to Great Britain, the islands of St. Jean and Cap Breton had not been affected by the Peace. It was upon the latter that the authorities laid the foundations of the new colony of Ile Royale. This venture was prompted primarily by economic considerations: the French aimed above all to re-establish the lucrative cod fishery of the Grand Banks.¹ Attendant upon this scheme was the desire to establish a viable colony on Ile Royale, something never achieved on Newfoundland, which, it was hoped, would provide the security which the fishery had hitherto lacked. Accordingly, Louisbourg, the seat of government for the colony, soon became an entrepôt of trade largely as a result of the colony's supply of fish.²

Three steps were necessary to launch the new colony on this basis. First, the civil and military officers and the troops of both the ceded colonies had to be moved to Ile Royale. Second, the small fishing population of Newfoundland³ had to move to the new colony and, third, the French government had to convince the considerable agricultural population of Acadia⁴ to move as well.

* National Historic Sites Service.

¹ AN, Col., B 35, fol. 259v. Pontchartrain to Gaulin, 29 March 1713.

² The concept of Louisbourg as an important naval base to serve as a barrier against British designs in America emerged only some years after 1713.

³ 598 persons, according to the census of 1711 in AN, Outre-mer, G¹ 467. Recensement de Plaisance, 27 October 1711.

⁴ 2,200 to 2,300 persons, according to the 1714 census, in *ibid.*, G¹ 466. Recensement des habitants, 15 October 1714; and *ibid.*, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, vol. I, pièce 29n. Recensement de toutes les familles de la paroisse de Beaubassin . . . , August 1714.

French policy regarding the Acadians, for all the interest their proven success at agriculture suddenly aroused in 1713,⁵ nevertheless remained weak. On the one hand, official directives reminded officials at every level of the cautious restraint France was to use in its dealings with England.⁶ Also, by 1713 the *Ministère de la Marine*, which administered the colonies, was out of touch with all that had become Acadia in the century preceding Utrecht. The seventeenth had been a tumultuous century for the Acadians, during which Frenchman had taken arms against Frenchman with a frequency matching that of the destructive raids of the English upon their settlements. The crown's indifference to Acadia had transformed its people over the years. They had foregone the close affinity afforded by the regular arrival of well-laden vessels from the mother country and by the presence of a strong, well-equipped garrison which the colony had so frequently required in the century preceding the final surrender of 1710.⁷ For the Acadians, on the whole, the tone of the correspondence inviting them to emigrate betrayed the fact that the colonial officials had by 1713 but "une foible connoissance de ce pays."⁸ To them, the incentives offered amounted merely to half-measures, further hampered by indecision and procrastination.⁹

Meanwhile, as early as 1713, the British in Nova Scotia were showing signs of concern about losing the Acadian population to the hitherto empty Ile Royale.¹⁰ The provincial authorities were withholding leave for the Acadians to remove as stipulated by Article 14 of the Treaty¹¹

⁵ AN, Col., B 36, fol. 429v. Pontchartrain to Lhermitte, 21 March 1714.

⁶ *Ibid.*, B 35, fol. 261v. Id. to Gaulin, 29 March 1713.

⁷ See notably J. B. BREBNER, *New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (New York, 1927), pp. 37-42. This description of the British effort to govern Nova Scotia after 1710 remains the foremost history of the Acadians caught between the crossfire of the French and the English in the fight for empire in North America.

⁸ See notably AN, Col., B 35, fol. 261v. Pontchartrain to Gaulin, 29 March 1713.

⁹ A notable half-measure was the promise to reduce for ten years half of the duties payable upon fish entering France. Though there had been some small-scale fishing in Acadia, very few Acadians engaged in the fishery at Ile Royale. Furthermore, the Acadians had long before rid themselves of restrictions in the area of what trade had developed among them (see BREBNER, *ibid.*). Other instances of a weak policy are evident in the problems which surrounded the provision of transport and supplies to prospective emigrants.

¹⁰ P. R. O., CO 218/1, fol. 41v-42v. Vetch to Lords of Trade, 12 December 1713 (o. s.).

¹¹ "...in all said colonies to be yielded... the [French] subjects... may have liberty to remove themselves, within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, together with all their movable effects," from *Nova Scotia Archives*, vol. I, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*. T. B. Akins, ed. (Halifax, 1869), p. 14, note.

and Queen Anne's letter of June 1713 to Governor Nicholson.¹² They referred the whole matter to England, where the Lords of Trade sought the advice of Samuel Vetch, Nicholson's predecessor in Nova Scotia. In November, Vetch vividly portrayed the prospect of the Acadian removal leaving the province "intirely destitute of inhabitants" and rendering Cape Breton "at once the most powerful colony the French have in America and of the greatest danger and damage to all the British colonies as well as the universal trade of Great Britain."¹³ He concluded that the Acadians should be forcibly prevented from leaving the province.¹⁴

The Board of Trade accordingly recommended that the Acadians be persuaded to remain in Nova Scotia, and that fitting encouragement be offered to those willing to live under the British crown. The Board further advised that the Acadians could by law be forbidden from taking their cattle and grain with them should they persist in their desire to remove, since the year allowed for carrying their movables away had elapsed.¹⁵ These recommendations were adopted in the spring of 1715.¹⁶

In the spring of 1713 the island of Cape Breton had little changed since the first sedentary efforts by Europeans in 1629. The ventures of both the British under James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, and the French, under Charles Daniel,¹⁷ had been short-lived. Even the fishing and fur trading stations of Desportes, Tuffet and Guignard in the 1630s and 1640s, and of Nicolas Denys in the 1650s and 1660s were of no significance to the future of the island: by 1669 all traces of settlement on Cape Breton had been wiped out.

Forty-four years were to pass before the French presence was again felt officially on Cape Breton. In the early months of 1713, the government ordered a small advance party to take formal possession of the island,¹⁸ thus signifying France's intention to finally utilize her North

¹² "...our will and pleasure... that you permit such of [the French subjects] as have any lands and tenements in the places under your government in Acadia and Newfoundland... to sell the same if they shall... chuse to remove elsewhere..." (AN, Outre'mer, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Vol. 1, pièce 26.)

¹³ P. R. O., CO 217/1, fol. 97-97v. Vetch to Lords of Trade, 24 November 1714 (o. s.).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 98v.-99.

¹⁵ P. R. O., CO 218/1, fol. 82-88. Lords of Trade to King George I, 17 March 1714/15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 111v. Id. to Stanhope, 2 June 1715 (o. s.).

¹⁷ On Stewart and Daniel, see G. W. BROWN, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1966), Vol. I, pp. 247-248 and 613.

¹⁸ AN, Col., C¹B 1, fol. 11. Saint-Ovide to Pontchartrain, 5 September 1713.

American territory. At the same time the authorities in France began arranging the transfer of the officials and troops of Acadia and Newfoundland, and to urge the inhabitants to follow likewise the Faith and the Flag to the new colony. For the Newfoundland fishermen, there was little choice but to acquiesce, for their financial source was based in France.¹⁹

The situation of the Acadians, however, was quite different. Their population was much larger. There existed, furthermore, certain essential difficulties which delayed and for the most part precluded a large-scale immigration to Ile Royale. The Acadians were a group which for nearly a century of comparative isolation had fashioned its own collective personality to the point that the handful of settlers who did eventually emigrate were frequently reckoned a distinct people in the new colony.

From the start the Acadians remained aloof and sceptical about the wisdom of sacrificing the easy circumstances which had been won by the labour of successive generations. In the wake of this initial rebuff, the authorities at Versailles sought during the winter of 1713-1714 to find more concrete inducements to offer the hesitant Acadians. Port Dauphin was ordered reserved as a refuge for the immigrants. The area was praised as abounding in "de bonnes terres, les plus beaux bois du monde et même un peu de pesche. Ils ne peuvent pas craindre de manquer de paturages à cet endroit."²⁰

The Acadians, cunning and suspicious, yet relenting, sent observers to inspect the land. These returned, however, with the well-founded opinion that nowhere on the island did the land compare with that to which they had become accustomed to in the fertile tidal inlets of Acadia. Thus, the immigration of Acadians was at no time in the years following the Peace of Utrecht nearly so important as was hoped for. Their affection for peninsular Acadia and its agricultural resources was stronger than both their dislike of England and Protestantism and their love for France and its institutions. It is likely that, even had the

¹⁹ For an excellent explanation of the economics of the North Atlantic cod fishery, see C. DE LA MORANDIÈRE, *Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (3 vols., Paris, 1962 and 1966). The author shows the fishery as a very important industry of metropolitan France, and not merely as a colonial venture controlled by colonials.

²⁰ AN, Col., B 36, fol. 445v. Pontchartrain to Durand, 23 March 1714.

British not opposed the Acadians' departure, or had the French offered strong incentives to attract them to Ile Royale, the majority of them would still have refused to emigrate.

Despite the disappointing general response, there was, nevertheless, a modest emigration from Acadia after 1713. In all, sixty-seven families of settlers, of a total of nearly 500 in 1714, chose to emigrate to Ile Royale to 1734. Even this modest removal, however, was to be plagued by ill-fortune. Though there were about 275 Acadians at Port Toulouse [modern Saint Peter's, Richmond Co.], their principal settlement, in 1726, they encountered such serious economic difficulties in the years following that most of even these eventually returned to Acadia. By 1734 there remained only eighteen families, accounting for 110 persons, at Port Toulouse.²¹

Though this article is concerned primarily with the settler class, there were as well two other classes of emigrants: the officials of the former colony — both civilian and military — and the troops of the former Acadia garrison. The officials, even many of the soldiers, constituted an integral part of the Acadian community. Officers had generally married the daughters of the former colony's few leading families. Their sons had been born in Acadia, and usually were destined in turn to receive appointments there or elsewhere in New France. They married the daughters of other officials' families within the colony. Similarly, many soldiers of the garrison, once discharged, had settled in Acadia and married the daughters of settlers.

After the surrender of Port Royal in 1710, these officials and troops were all returned to France. When Ile Royale was founded in 1713 they, along with the officials and troops from Newfoundland, were reassigned for the most part to the new colony. For these the transfer to the new colony was the normal course, and the only attractive one, open to them. These members of the lower nobility of France and her colonies owed both their station in life and the meagre amenities which accrued therefrom to service to the crown. In all, eleven of the seventeen officers of the 1710 garrison of Acadia, and two officers of the civil administration, served in Ile Royale after 1713.

²¹ AN, Outre'mer, G¹ 467, pièce 68. Recensement général des habitants établis à l'isle Royale, 1726; and *ibid.*, pièce 69. Recensement de l'isle Royale, 20 October 1734.

TABLE I. — *The Emigrant Officials.*²²

Name	Date and place of birth	Date of posting to Acadia	Marriage	Rank, 1 Jan. 1714	Knighthood Order of St.-Louis	Date, place of death, rank
GANNES de Falaise, Louis de	1666, Buxeuil	1696, Captain	Two in Canada, the third in Acadia to M ^{te} LeNeuf de La Vallière, 1700.	Major	1713	1714, La Rochelle, Major.
GANNES de Falaise, François de	1675, Buxeuil	1696, Ensign	M ^{te} Nafrechoux, 1713.	Captain	1718	1746, Montreal, <i>Lieutenant de Roi</i> .
DU PONT Duvivier, François	1676, Sérignac	1702, Captain	Marie Mius d'Entremont, 1705.	Captain	n. a.	1714, Île Royale, Captain.
DU PONT de Renon, Michel	Sérignac	1702, Lieutenant	Anne Desgoutins, 1710.	Lieutenant	n. a.	1719, Port Dauphin, Captain.
DU PONT Duchambon, Louis	1686, Sérignac	1702, Ensign	Jeanne Mius d'Entremont, 1709.	Lieutenant	1730	1775, Saintonge, retired 1746, <i>Lieutenant de Roi</i> .
SAINT-ÉTIENNE de La Tour, Charles II	c. 1663, Cap Sable	1703, Ensign	Angélique Loreau, 1699.	Lieutenant	1728	1731, Louisbourg, Captain.
LE POUPET de La Boularderie, Louis-Simon	c. 1674	1702, Captain	Magdelaine Melançon, 1702.	Retired 1709, Captain	n. a.	1738, Île Royale, Merchant.
DENYS de La Ronde, Louis	1675, Quebec	1707, Captain	Louise-Marguerite Chartier de Lothinière, 1709.	Captain	1721	1741, Canada, Captain.
ESPIET de Pensens, Jacques		1705, Aide-major		Lieutenant	1718	Retired 1737, <i>Lieutenant de Roi</i> .
EURRY de La Perelle, Jean-François	Paris	1708, Ensign	Charlotte Aubert de La Chesnaye, 1718.	Ensign	1736	1747, [at sea ?], Major.
AILLEBOUST d'Argenteuil, Charles-Joseph d'	1688, Montreal	1710, Ensign	1. M.-Joseph Bertrand, 1728; 2. F.-Charlotte Alvoine, 1758.	Ensign	1745	1761, [Montreal ?], <i>Lieutenant de Roi</i> .
GOUTIN, Mathieu de		1688, Judge	Jeanne Thibodeau, c. 1688.	Scrivener	n. a.	1714, Louisbourg, Scrivener.
LOPPINOT, Jean-Christostome	St.-Nicolas des Champs	1699, Notary	Jeanne Doucet.		n. a.	, Île Royale, Judge, Admiralty.

²² This table is based for the most part on the various series of AN, Colonies (notably D²C, Troupes et milices des colonies). The task of retrieving and verifying this information was markedly simplified thanks to the extensive files of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* / *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*. Biographical accounts of eight of the personalities in Table I appeared in volume II of the *Dictionary*... (Toronto and Québec, 1969), and accounts of the remaining five will appear in subsequent volumes.

For the sake of convenience, the sixty-seven emigrant settlers may be broken down into six groups, corresponding roughly to the specific time or occasion of their removal to Ile Royale. The six families of the first group formed part of the founding expedition to Ile Royale in 1713. Though not of the official class, it is evident that their fate was closely linked to that of the garrison and administration of the former colony.

Those of the second group were of the large numbers who thronged to inspect conditions in the new colony during 1713 and 1714. They came on their own, fired by the optimistic directives which their missionaries relayed to them on behalf of the crown.²³ Though several dozens came, the families of only fourteen settled there permanently.

In September 1714 came the eight families of the third group. These differed from the preceding group only in that they came aboard shipping provided by the crown.²⁴ The nineteen families of the fourth group emigrated between 1715 and 1719, but mostly in 1715 and 1716. During these years the *Commissaire-ordonnateur* Soubras displayed considerable initiative and energy in an attempt to found a viable agricultural settlement in the colony.

The arrival of Richard Philipps as governor of Nova Scotia was the prelude to the departure of the fifth group of immigrants. Philipps issued a proclamation in April 1720 the terms of which sought to have the Acadians finally take the oath of allegiance to George I. Though in the final instance Philipps was unable to enforce the terms of the proclamation, nine families nevertheless left Acadia and settled in Ile Royale as a result of the confrontation.

The eleven families of the sixth group were random emigrants who settled in Ile Royale from 1722 to 1734, attracted presumably by reports of paid employment in the new colony for tradesmen and navigators.²⁵

²³ See, for example, AN, Col., B 35, fol. 259v. Pontchartrain to Gaulin, 29 March 1713; and *ibid.*, vol. 36, fol. 445v. Id. to Durand, 23 March 1713.

²⁴ P. R. O., CO 217/1, fol. 201-201v. List of the inhabitants that have Shipt themselves and Effects in the Sloop *Marie-Joseph*, 18 August 1714 (o. s.); *ibid.*, fol. 202. De Pensens to Nicholson, 30 August 1714; *ibid.*, fol. 224. Liste des habitants... qui s'embarquent sur... le *Saint-Louis*, [5 September 1714].

²⁵ There is no unequivocal evidence to substantiate this idea. However, the record of accounts paid by the crown, especially to Acadian navigators (see, in particular, AN, Col., C¹¹C, vol. 7 and 11), suggests that, as word of opportunities for regular cash payment got back to Nova Scotia, the effect most certainly must have been to encourage more emigrants to seek their fortune in Ile Royale.

TABLE II. — *The Emigrant Settlers.*²⁰

Names	Date, place of birth	Residence in Acadia	Marriage	Land and livestock in Acadia, 1707				Occupation in Île Royale	Death or departure from Île Royale
				bc	bl	co	ar		
Group I									
JACAU, Thomas	c. 1677, Saintes	P. Royal	Anne Melançon, 1705	n. a.				Master gunner	
LAFOREST, Pierre Part d.	c. 1685, Tulle	P. Royal	Jeanne Dugas, 1707	n. a.				Smith	
DESTOUCHES, Nicolas Pugnant d.	c. 1688, Paris	P. Royal	Marie Brunet, 1710	n. a.				Baker	
LACHAUME, Louis	c. 1680, Poitiers	P. Royal	Magdeleine Triel, 1702	n. a.				Sergeant	
CAHOUE (widow)	Perigieuse	P. Royal	Christophe Cahouet, 1704	n. a.					
MORPAIN, Pierre		P. Royal	Marie Damours, 1709	n. a.				Port Captain, Louisbourg	d. 1749
Group II									
RODRIGUE, Jean	c. 1675, Portugal	P. Royal	Anne Leborgne, 1707	n. a.				Merchant	d. 1733
LASONDE, Bernard Mars d.	Bordeaux	Musquodoboit	(—) Petitpas	n. a.				Fisherman	
CORPORON, Jean	c. 1676, Acadia	P. Royal, Mines pre-1714	Marie Pinet, 1705	0	0	0	0	Caulker, navigator	d. 1741
COSTE, François	c. 1665, Marseilles	P. Royal	Magdeleine Martin	4	10	10	1¼	Navigator, carpenter	
TILLARD, François	c. 1685, France	P. Royal	Marguerite Prince	n. a.					

²⁰ The birth dates are approximate in those instances where they are based solely on ages given in the censuses for 1698, 1700 and 1701. In cases where the baptismal act is extant, birth dates are given as certain.

The column "Land and livestock in Acadia, 1707" is taken from the Acadia census for 1707 (AN, Outre'mer, G¹ 466, pp. 215-231 [PAC transcript]). "bc" stands for "bêtes à cornes," "bl" for "bêtes à laine," "co" for "cochons," and "ar" for "arpents en valeur." "n. a." indicates immigrants who do not figure in the 1707 census, generally because they were too young in 1707, or, in the case of former soldiers, because they were not yet discharged from the troops in 1707.

The dates of departure from Île Royale and death were gathered sometimes from the general correspondence, but mostly, for the death dates, from the burial acts in the civil registers of both Île Royale and Acadia.

TABLE II. — *The Emigrant Settlers (continued).*

Names	Date, place of birth	Residence in Acadia	Marriage	Land and livestock in Acadia, 1707				Occupation in Île Royale	Death or departure from Île Royale
				bc	bl	co	ar		
PETITPAS, Nicolas	Acadia	P. Royal	2. Magdeleine Simon, 1714; 3. Ozite Benoist, 1756	n. a.				Carpenter, fisherman	
COMEAU, Jean	c. 1684, Acadia	Piziquid		n. a.					
PÎTRE, Jean	c. 1671, Acadia	P. Royal	Anne Comeau	n. a.				Farmer	
GAUDET, Guillaume	c. 1683, Acadia	P. Royal	Marie Boudrot	n. a.				Navigator	
GAUDET, Denis	c. 1686, Acadia	P. Royal		n. a.					
MIRANDE, Joseph	1680, Acadia	Beaubassin	Marie Godet, 1703 or 1704	8	5	3	6	Fisherman	
LANDRY, Jean	Acadia	Mines		26	12	26	12	Carpenter, navigator	
BOUDROT, Charles	c. 1687, Acadia	P. Royal	Marie-J. Landry, 1707	n. a.					Resided P. Royal, 1730
LEBLANC, Claude	Acadia	Mines		n. a.				Carpenter	
Group III									
RICHARD, Pierre	c. 1660, Acadia	P. Royal (Mines in 1707)		15	11	16	6		
PARIS, François Testard d.	c. 1683, Picardie	P. Royal	Marie Doiron, 1707	n. a.				Navigator, carpenter	d. 1733
BONAPÉTIT, Blaise de Broussas d.	c. 1690, Virat	P. Royal	Anne Pretieux, 1710	n. a.					
BOUDROT, François	c. 1666, Acadia	P. Royal	Magdeleine Belliveau	24	35	13	14	Builder	d. P. Royal, 1733
LANDRY, Claude	c. 1665, Acadia	P. Royal		21	15	20	6	(aged)	d. P. Royal, 1740
DUCAS, Joseph	1680, Acadia	Mines	Marguerite Richard, 1711	n. a.				Builder, navigator	d. 1733

RICHARD, Jean	Saint-Malo	Mines	M.-Magdeleine Sanson	n. a.	Mason	
DUGAS, Abraham	1663, Acadia	P. Royal	2. Magdeleine Landry, 1700	12 20 12 4		d. P. Royal, 1720
Group IV						
BELLIVEAU, Jean	1652, Acadia	P. Royal	2. Cecile Melançon, c. 1703	4 6 0 6 (aged)		Resided Île St.-Jean, 1728
BOURISSE	Quebec	P. Royal	1. M.-Joseph Martin; 2. Magdeleine Corporon	n. a.	Cabinet-maker ("menuisier")	
BOUDROT, Michel	c. 1689, Acadia	P. Royal	Anne Landry, 1714	n. a.	Builder, navigator	Resided P. Royal, 1730
BOUCHER, Pierre	St.-Nicolas (Canada)	Mines	Anne Hébert, 1714	n. a.		d. before 1731
PINET, Antoine	c. 1682, Acadia	Mines	Marguerite Bellemère, 1709	n. a.	Carpenter	d. 1738
MARTIN, Pierre	c. 1670, Acadia	P. Royal	Anne Godin, c. 1708	6 13 19 4	Carpenter	
MARTIN, Jean	c. 1675, Acadia	Piziquid	Magdeleine Babin, c. 1709	0 1 3 0 (aged)		d. 1732
LAROSE		P. Royal		n. a.	Discharged soldier	
AUBOIS, Julien	c. 1641, Nantes	Cap Sable	2. Jeanne Aimée	n. a.		
HENRY, Robert	c. 1643, Rouen	Cobequid	Magdeleine Godin	3 4 2 2		
PINET (widow)	Acadia			n. a.	Gardener	
GROFLÉE (widow)				n. a.		
POITTIERS, Louis Marchand d.	c. 1682, Poitiers	P. Royal	Marie Godin, 1705	n. a.	Gardener	
GENTIL, Élie	c. 1680, Saintonge	P. Royal	Cecile Martin, 1702	n. a.		
JASSEMAIN, Jean		Mines		n. a.		
SIMON, Pierre d. Boucher	c. 1689, Acadia	P. Royal	Marie Pinette	n. a.	Fisherman	
PETITPAS, Claude	1663, Acadia	P. Royal	1. M.-Thérèse (Indian); 2. Françoise Lavergne, 1721		Merchant	

TABLE II. — *The Emigrant Settlers* (continued).

Names	Date, place of birth	Residence in Acadia	Marriage	Land and livestock in Acadia, 1707				Occupation in Île Royale	Death or departure from Île Royale
				bc	bl	co	ar		
PETITPAS, Barthélémy	c. 1687, Acadia	P. Royal	Magdeleine Coste	n. a.				Navigator, interpreter	
BOUDART, François	c. 1686, Brussels	Piziquid	Marie Babin	n. a.				Navigator	
Group V									
BOUDROT, François d. Lemare	c. 1692, Acadia	P. Royal	Jeanne Landry	n. a.				Builder, navigator	Resided Île St. Jean, 1727
BOURG, Michel	1692, Acadia	Beaubassin	Marie Cormier, 1713	n. a.				Navigator	
BROSSARD, Pierre	1684, Acadia	P. Royal	Marguerite Bourg, 1709	n. a.				Navigator	
VIGNAU, Maurice	c. 1680, Canada	P. Royal	Marguerite Commeaux	2	0	0	2	Builder	
FOUCÈRE, Jean	c. 1685, Orléans	P. Royal	Marie Bourg, 1713	n. a.				Navigator, fisherman	
AUBOIS, Pierre	c. 1691, Acadia	Cap Sable	Elizabeth Dugas, 1717	n. a.					
LANGLOIS, François	c. 1680, Paris	P. Royal	Magdeleine Comeau, 1702	n. a.				Navigator	
SANSON, Gabriel	c. 1683, Pte. de Lévis	P. Royal	Jeanne Martin, 1704	4	0	5	1½	Builder, navigator	
LAVIGNE, Nicolas	c. 1692, St-Denis	P. Royal	Magdeleine Doucet, 1715	n. a.				Navigator	
Group VI									
DOUCET, Charles	c. 1688, Acadia			n. a.				Carpenter, navigator	
MICHEL, Joseph	c. 1703, Acadia	P. Royal	M.-Anne Boudrot	n. a.				Navigator, builder	
LATREILLE, Louis				n. a.				Navigator	
PINET, Noël	1683, Acadia	Mines	Rose Henri, 1710	n. a.				Carpenter	

SAVOIE, Marie (widow Triel)	c. 1657, Acadia	P. Royal	Widow of Jacques Triel	n. a.		d. 1741
PRÉJEAN, François	1693, Acadia	P. Royal	M.-Magdeleine Vrigneau	n. a.	Carpenter	
PINET (widow, the younger)	Acadia			n. a.	Gardener	
DOUCET l'Irlandois	Acadia			n. a.	Navigator	
LAPIERRE, Jean-Baptiste	Acadia	P. Royal		0 0 0 0	Navigator	d. before 1734
					Carpenter, navigator	
PRÉJEAN, Nicolas	1704, Acadia		Marguerite Brossard	n. a.		
BOISSEAU, Pierre	c. 1702, LaRochelle		Marguerite Terriau, 1734	n. a.		d. 1755

Of the sixty-seven families which immigrated to Ile Royale, it is possible to establish the previous place of residence in Acadia for fifty-nine, as the following table illustrates.

TABLE III ²⁷

Location	Population in 1714	% of total population	Number of emigrants	% of total emigrants
Port Royal region	906	39.6	42	71.2
Mines region	876	38.3	11	18.6
Cobequid region	156	6.8	1	1.7
Beaubassin region	349	15.3	2	3.4
Cape Sable and Musquodoboit	—	—	3	5.1
TOTALS	2,287	100	59	100

It is difficult to define precisely the significance of the very high rate of emigration from the vicinity of Annapolis, which on the other hand accounted for only 39.6% of the total French population of Nova Scotia in 1714. There is no doubt that the Acadians had long before 1713 acquired a reluctance to submit to the circumstances of government as exercised even by their own nation. Their reluctance obviously increased when in 1710 they were subjected to foreign conquest, occupation and government. This factor, and the depletion of the tidal marshlands in the immediate vicinity of the hearth settlement, probably were as important in the emigration to Ile Royale after 1713 as they had been a generation or more previously — from the 1670s — in the migration to the new settlements at Mines and Beaubassin. ²⁸

Some distance from the administrative capital, however, the Acadians apparently felt more secure. At Mines, for instance, with 38.3% of the population in 1714, "all the orders sent to [the Acadians] are scoffed and laughed at as they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no

²⁷ Adapted from AN, Outre'mer, G¹ 466, pp. 232-245 [PAC transcript]. Recensement des habitants [de l'Acadie], 15 October 1714; *ibid.*, pp. 246-253. Recensement de... Beaubassin, 1714.

²⁸ In this regard, see BREBNER, *ibid.*, p. 47, and more recently, Andrew Hill CLARK, *Acadia, the Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 139-140. Both Brebner and Clark attach more importance to migration as a search for freedom and escape from restraint by governments (be they French or British), than as a result of the depletion of agricultural resources in the Annapolis region.

government."²⁹ Similar attitudes, only more acute, were characteristic of the more distant settlements of Cobequid, Beaubassin and the sparsely-settled south coast of the province.

The factor of geographical distribution notwithstanding, religious and patriotic sentiments also drew the attention of the Acadians to Ile Royale. In fact, the initial appeal of the authorities hinged naturally upon these feelings,³⁰ and the Acadians, despite marked local peculiarities, were still deeply attached to Faith and Sovereign in 1713. Indeed, many of the emigrants who effectively attempted a settlement in Ile Royale were inspired and drawn by the directives which the *Ministère de la Marine* had sent to their missionaries. Ultimately, however, religion and patriotism alone neither brought about emigration nor maintained settlement in the new colony.

The essential factors which governed the scheme were economic: emigration was least attractive to farmers³¹ who in Acadia were settled on land in full production, as opposed to Ile Royale, densely wooded and unfurrowed by the plow. Herein lies the principal reason for the failure of a practicable agricultural base in the new colony: the Acadians ascertained for themselves that nowhere in Ile Royale, even after years of arduous labour, could they hope to match the agricultural yield of Acadia. The French scheme to attract farmers having thus failed, the emigration accordingly comprised those productive elements of Acadia who were able to, and indeed did, profit by the different prospects of Ile Royale: coasters, fishermen, builders, and a great many indigents who subsisted on rations received from the crown.³²

In the main the emigrants were young. Of the fifty heads of families whose ages are known, though with varying certainty, nearly one third

²⁹ P. R. O., CO 217/3, fol. 190v. Paul Mascarene, Description of Nova Scotia, [1720]. See also BREBNER, *ibid.*

³⁰ See, for instance, AN, Col., B 35, fol. 260v. Pontchartrain to Gaulin, 29 March 1713.

³¹ Agriculture, of course, was the principal means of livelihood for the majority of the population in all the regions of Acadia, with the obvious exception of the south coast. In 1707, the year of our latest data, of a total of 253 families recorded in the census (AN, Outre-mer, G¹ 466, pp. 215-231 [PAC transcript]. Recensement de l'Acadie, 1707), there were only sixteen families with no agricultural holdings at all.

³² It would, of course, be of added interest to trace the occupations of the emigrants before they removed to Ile Royale. Unfortunately, we have data as to livelihood on only the fifteen emigrants who in 1707 had been farmers. It is interesting, in comparing their assets with the norm in Acadia, to note that four of the fifteen possessed holdings in acreage and livestock which were well above the average figures for their regions. Of the remaining eleven, three were of average prosperity, while eight persons recorded very small holdings, well below the average figures for their regions.

were in their twenties, nearly two fifths were in their thirties, while less than one third were over forty.

Most of the sixty-seven families, presumably, were attracted by the economic prospects of Ile Royale. Indeed, the French authorities made frequent reference to the need in a new and insular colony for coastal transport notably, and for widespread building and works of fortification. Thus, of the sixty-seven emigrants, ten were recorded as navigators, eight were engaged in the wood-working trades, and four in various other trades. A further thirteen combined coastal navigation with other endeavors. Though the fishery was the mainstay of the colony, only three Acadians were fishermen,³³ and a fourth was at once a carpenter and fisherman. Two emigrants were engaged in trade, and four were styled *jardiniers*.³⁴

There remain, however, a total of twenty-two for whom the censuses fail to give an occupation. Presumably many of these were among those who were attracted to Ile Royale by the prospect of free food supplies which the crown distributed to the needy, a practice virtually unheard of in Acadia. Thus the impressive number of widows, aged persons, large families and *vagabonds et paresseux* for whom emigration offered no other plausible advantage. Indeed the official correspondence refers frequently to those who, in the manner of the flotsam of every frontier, "à l'exemple des sauvages, ne restent que pour y trouver une oisive subsistance."³⁵ The fact, however, that they remained in the colony for many years, thus achieving some degree of permanence, suggests they may eventually have found some gainful employment, or else conditioned themselves to the antipathy of the authorities as long as the supplies continued to be meted out.

Despite the critical testimony of the local French authorities, the immigrants were frequently diligent and skilled beyond the average in Acadia, and indeed in Ile Royale as well. This, at any rate, is the im-

³³ These findings, therefore, contradict those of G. MASSIGNON, *Les parlers français d'Acadie, enquête linguistique* (2 vols., Paris, 1962), vol. I, p. 22. The author claims most of the emigrants were fishermen, on the basis of the Ile Royale censuses which reveal many vessels belonging to Acadians. These documents, however, clearly distinguish which vessels were employed in coasting (the greater number), and which in the fishery.

³⁴ See the Ile Royale censuses for 1724, 1726 and 1734, AN, Outre'mer, G¹ 466, pièces 67, 68 and 69, which record the occupations of the inhabitants.

³⁵ AN, Col., C¹¹B 2, fol. 128v-129. Saint-Ovide and Soubras to the Conseil de la marine, 13 November 1717.

pression revealed by the censuses and the accounts paid by the crown to enterprising Acadians for services rendered.³⁶ The relatively large volume of unfavourable opinion is more readily explained by the fact that so few of the total Acadian population emigrated. Of further consequence was the fact that, among these, there were virtually no farmers to help render Ile Royale self-sufficient in the production of foodstuffs, as the ministerial authorities had so ardently hoped.

From the point of view of overall French policy, the Acadian emigration scheme was a failure. While it was hoped virtually all of the 500 or so families of 1714 would follow the Faith and the Flag to Ile Royale, only sixty-seven removed. Many of these, however, for a time at least, probably achieved in the new colony a greater measure of security than they had known previously. Also, the story of this emigration records an event of some importance in the history of the Acadians: this was the first of several instances of the Acadians living outside their homeland. Though a few succeeded in Ile Royale, most of the sixty-seven families eventually returned to Acadia, after 1726. Several decades of relative isolation in a simple pastoral setting had ill-prepared them to live and compete in a complex and economically well-organized community such as Ile Royale.

³⁶ Cf. AN, Col., C¹¹C, vols. 7 and 11. It is difficult to compare this evidence of diligence with the norm in Acadia. No such careful record of crown expenditure was kept in the latter colony. Our only evidence, therefore, is sparse and largely conjectural. It is reasonable to conclude, however, that in Acadia the opportunity for transport or building on behalf of the crown occurred many times less frequently.